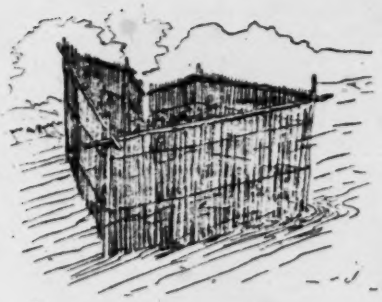
226
*[192]

/237 cont./



Cacurí (waí-ro)

b) Waí-ro (in Nheengatú cacurí). It consists of an enclosure of paxiúba or patauá sticks fastened to stakes that are very high and reinforced so that the river current will not destroy it, placed near the edge of the river or of islands, where they know that the fish are in the habit of passing during high water. The enclosure, almost always triangular in shape, is continued laterally by two cloths or pari barriers, which join at an obtuse angle, driving toward the enclosure the fish, which, following their instinct, always advance against the current. Upon reaching the angle of the barrier, this gives passage, because it is loose there, but it soon closes again through the action of the current. The fish advance, but find the bottom closed, and, not finding the way by which they came in, remain imprisoned, not infre-
*[192] quently in large numbers. This system is very practical, equivalent to a fishpond where the fish are kept alive and the /238/
[843] fisherman dives in and catches the fish he wants with the puçá, waí wehẽ-kõ. The women, when pregnant, cannot eat fish from the cacurí. They think that the spirit of the child to be born goes to cry near the trap at night and scares away the fish. They attribute the failures to such a cause and remedy it by surrounding the barricade with a poisonous cipo. The child's spirit, upon noticing it, will run away, and the fish will come to enter the trap.

/365 cont./

825 When the women see a blind snake or a headless snake, õxsó, they turn their faces to the side, so that it will not come at night to fecundate them.

[752] [784] When someone is bitten by a snake, his relatives must abstain from salt, pepper, and fish.

[192] [856] When a child is slow in learning to talk, they give the smoked meat of the toad nãxterõ to it to eat, affirming that thus he will soon begin to talk (76).

76. Patrícia Vasconcelos, Tukano from S. Luzia, river Papurí, states that this happened with her. And soon after having eaten the meat of such a toad, she started to talk.

* [192] [304] [224] [226] They make some cuts on the children's bodies, when they are still young, with fish teeth, especially from the piraíba, so that they will become mõ'sĩgõ (in Nheengatú marupiára), that is, lucky in fishing and hunting.

Urukã-tutu is the onomatopoeic name, in the Língua Geral and in Tukano, of a nocturnal bird, whose chirping must not be imitated, because it will come to avenge itself against the one * [192] who did this, throwing stones at him. They affirm that this bird is the disembodied spirit of some white or civilized, pexkã-sã wẽ'rĩ wãx-tĩ.

[752] /366/ They burn the house of the termite and put the ashes on wounds, so that they will not leave a scar. They explain that just as the termites repair their nest perfectly when it is broken open, the ashes of their nest will produce the same result in the human wounds.

If a dog goes in the water in which timbo has been spread for fishing, the poison will no longer have any strength.

• [843] The ladies in a state of pregnancy must not eat the pirarucú and pirandira fish, or the pirara; because "this eats dead people" is the explanation that they provided.

/366 cont./

843 *[192] [226] d) Persons. Every pregnant woman, nihĩ-paxkõ (after the fourth month, more or less), is a dangerous being. There are various prescriptions referring to the gestating woman. For example, she cannot eat the fish from the espinhel /line with many hooks/ (VI - 5, a (4 d)), from the cacurí, nor participate in the large-scale fishing with timbo. If she does so, the fishing will be fruitless, and the espinhel or cacurí will no longer catch fish (77).

> 77. They ruined the espinhel of Dom José Domitrovitsch. The Missionary complained and asked the reason. The espinhel "is no good," the Indian said to him, because my wife ate some of the fish caught in that espinhel and she is pregnant.

She must not touch the bow or arrow, so that she does not "ruin them."

About the father of a newborn baby, it is also said that he
846 *[192] is in a state of pregnancy, nihĩ-paxkõ or nihĩ-pkõ. He must, then, take care of himself, "sihyógõ" (cf. "Couvade," VIII -- 1, b (3)), so that the child will grow strong.

844 It is permissible only for women to attend the delivery; the men must withdraw. If by any chance there are male guests in the maloca, then the woman giving birth will remain in some tightly closed apartment, if there is one. Or she will leave, in order to give birth in some isolated hut or even in the forest. Before taking her puerperium bath, the woman may not see a bow or any instrument of iron (machete, ax, assagai, etc.).

843 If the husband stops with open arms in the door of the house during the pregnancy of his wife, she will have a difficult delivery.

If during her own pregnancy the woman sits down to eat, or sits in a hammock with her legs dangling, her delivery will be difficult.

/367 cont./

824 In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child,
*[192] soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the bará, perí-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 There is a plant called kĩ'rá pũrĩ (Uaupés kĩ'ná pũnĩ), the
• 843 leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the
*[192] hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of
[515] gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurí River) promoted two marriages of Pirá-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

T /368 cont./
755 They grant a particular strength to the "blowing," capable of effecting cures (81).

81. In September of 1947, during a fight among the Makú on the occasion of a feast in the vicinity of Iauareté, an Indian received five large and deep machete blows (on the two shoulders, forehead, hand, and right buttock). A month later they were almost healed, and they explained to us that the only curing procedure was the following: before taking his mingau, every man blew over the food which the patient would eat.

T
• 843 In order to have children of the male sex, the woman must not take a bath during the last pregnancy.

The pregnant woman, when she works, tries not to make much noise (for example, she avoids the noise of the cuia /shell of Crescentia cujete/ in the pot when she goes to fetch water).
T Otherwise, her child will be a whiner.
501 While the man is burning out his canoe, he must not eat,
784 drink, or go to the toilet, so that his craft will not crack.
T When the parí is being prepared, one must not eat meat.
262 The Makú must fast on the day on which they prepare the
M "curare"; otherwise, the poison will not have any strength.
278 The dead are transformed into wãx-tĩ (cf. below, Funeral
T Feast). These disembodied spirits, when they are that of a paje,
756 of individuals of a hostile tribe, or of the civilized, are very
775 dangerous. For this reason they do not sleep near the place where
829 some civilized person was buried.

g) The cult of the dead.

T As a consequence of the two beliefs so firmly rooted, that of
621 the union of the individuals of each group, who consider and call one another "brother," and that of the existence and immortality

/378 cont./

831 a) Concept of procreation and marriage.

842 The concept of procreation through the participation of the two sexes, and both among human beings and among animals, is known by everyone, even the children.

• 843 It seems, on the other hand, that the space of nine months as the gestation period is not likewise so well known (95).

[115] 95. A Tukano girl about 20 years old from S. Tomé, river Tiquié, answered us that the period of gestation was five months.

842 And they do not know how fecundation takes place or how the
843 fetus becomes animated and develops.

The most rigorous law of tribal exogamy is in force (VIII --
582 1, a (1)). Marriage Between tribal "brothers and sisters" is considered bad and impossible (96),

[797] 96. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita, river Paurí /Papurí or Papury/, Colombia, performed two marriages among Pirá-tapuyas who, through religious instruction, had liberated themselves from these prejudices and wanted each other as spouses. Nevertheless, there was great reaction from the Indians, who tried to burn the house of the Missionary. But, under the protection of the latter, the two couples continued to live in Teresita (1947) and with healthy children.

and a fortiori between blood brothers and sisters. If one asks them the reason for this prohibition they simply answer: -- "Because it is bad." /379/ Some add: -- "Because he will not have children," or: -- "Because the children will die."

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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561 still needs help is *tcumihinkũ* (male) or *tcumihinko* (female); the
192 youngster until puberty is *hwainyó* (male) or *hwainkó* (female);
the adult male is *ũmũ* (male) or *nomyó* (female), and finally, the old
people are *bekũ* (male) or *bekó* (female).

BIRTH AND INFANCY

842 The Cubeo believe it is the spermatic fluid (*hũrũ*) that causes
conception. They regard the womb as a ground in which the fetus
grows, or is cultivated as seeds are planted in the earth. Since men
and women do not discuss together the biology of conception and of
[843] pregnancy, their views differ. Men I spoke to dated conception from
the time when the abdomen begins to swell, while women dated it
843 from the cessation of menstruation. Both sexes believe that con-
833 tinued coitus after conception will add to the number of children
842 that will grow in the womb. Stories are told of people who did not
heed this so that the woman burst from an accumulation of fetuses.
Coitus is stopped, however, by the male reckoning.

842 It is a common view of men that women are not eager to bear
847 children. Women, they say, know how to bring about abortion and
frequently resort to infanticide. They explain that women are sexu-
ally too ardent and rather than forgo coitus during the long nursing
[833] period they would rather not have a child at all. Moreover, a woman
who has not been enjoying sexual intercourse with her husband will
abort or kill her offspring. If she chooses infanticide, however, she
spares the boy. Women do concede knowledge and use of abortifa-
cients and they acknowledge that others of their sex practice infan-
ticide. They agree that a woman who does not love her husband
842 punishes him by denying him a child. Thus, the Cubeo are disin-
clined to believe in barrenness or in sterility, attributing infertility to
[586] female design. A man therefore, has cause to abandon a wife who
bears him no children. One man told that he had abandoned his wife
for not bearing children, but later they became reconciled; his wife had a
change of heart and began to bear children.

847 Male infanticide, I was assured, was rare, for even the most dis-
[562] affected or self-indulgent woman would not have the heart to kill a
male child. Both men and women agreed that a girl was less impor-
tant. The unwanted child is buried alive, it is said, at the very spot
where it was born.

842 The likelihood is very strong, then, that a child is born to a family
that desires it, and in which husband and wife are happy with each
000 other. Parturition takes place in the woman's manioc garden. A

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
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cake when it is still on the oven, the child will be born deformed. Harelip, for example, is attributed to this delinquency in eating. The pregnant woman, on the other hand, endangers her child by generosity with body paint. Women commonly give one another genipa paint. If a pregnant woman should give genipa paint to another, her child will be born without the blue marking at the base of its spine. A child without such a marking, which is called *vei* – the term for the genipa pigment – will die very soon.

When the mother has brought the newborn infant to the maloca on a manioc tray lined with cloth (in the past with soft bark fibers) she proceeds immediately to bathe it in warm water, washing its body clean. She then paints the infant's face with red spots to make it resemble a jaguar child, and the rest of its body with the same red pigment. The spots will protect the infant against the jaguar, while the red body pigment, which is common ceremonial adornment, gives the infant human status at once. Finally, she ties cord bands on the baby's wrists so that its arms will grow heavy. Having done these things the mother presents the child to its grandmother, her mother-in-law, and goes to her hammock.

For the next three days, husband and wife spend most of their time in their respective hammocks. They move about as little as possible, leaving the house only for excretion, and avoid going near the river. They drink little water, eat only stale manioc bread and, if they wish, ants. They talk to no one but are looked after by others in the house, who bring water, keep the fire going, bring them their dry food. If the woman blows at the fire to stir it up she will develop a terrible temper. The grandmother has charge of the infant, giving it up only for nursing. Almost anything the parents might do at this time would be harmful to the infant. If either stubbed a toe it would damage the infant's toe; peppers would burn the infant's insides; it would choke on a fishbone; and so the parents must avoid these foods. This period of three days is an isolation period for the parents. Their other children, if any, are taken into another household. When Koch-Grünberg was among the Cubeo he noticed that the couple was actually hidden behind screens. Among the *Bahúkiwa* the isolation was less complete. Informants had told me that the period of isolation, which is known simply as "resting," lasted ten days. However, the several instances that I observed lasted only three days, perhaps a concession to modernity.[1] But Father Giacone

[1] One informant explained that the restrictions last until the infant's fetal skin comes off, that is, three or four days.